A

LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HON. EARL CHOLMONDELEY

ON THE

CIVIL POLICY OF THE ANCIENTS.

BY

THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

SECRETARY FOR THE LIBRARY, AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN ENUMERATION

OF THE

CONFISCATIONS, &c.

OF THE

FRENCH NATION,

EXTRACTED FROM

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

Translated from the German.

SECOND EDITION.

" Multis modis mala façinora.—Quæ quouſque tandem patiemini
" fortiſſimi viri?" SALL.

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TO

THE PEOPLE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

FELLOW-SUBJECTS,

TRUTH is irreſiſtible in its nature, and not to be controverted by opinion when its foundation is facts. Facts therefore I ſubmit to you.

In theſe you will clearly perceive what thoſe unhappy people of Europe have undergone, who have been blinded by the glare, or driven into the flames of the republican volcano. But though we ſympathize in private with the martyrs of moral error, human indignation muſt publicly cry out, Shame upon Europe! Shame upon thoſe nations who crouched for concord, and have been enſlaved by war! Are their ſwords amidſt the ſpoliations of rapacity?

To you, my fellow-ſubjects, I offer this tribute of my humble but proud homage. The enumeration of examples which follow, will, by the ſimple force of contraſt, diſplay the honour of your wiſdom and the ſafety of your virtues.

But before you contemplate the picture of French fraternity, and the fallacy of its republican independence; before

you turn your eyes to this detail of perfidious plunder and bloody oppreſſion, I wiſh to call your attention to a public and ſolemn mockery of all national liberty, on the part of the French, toward every ſtate which has been or may be revolutionized by that chain-bearing republic.

You will perceive this verified not only in *fact*, but by a juſtification of the *principle* in a document which condemns the fact. Conſequently, that tyranny and ſlavery are coexiſtent with, and inſeparable from French fraternity, will appear as manifeſtly as the demonſtration of facts can enforce or the words of man explain it. But judge for yourſelves.

The *Directory ordered lately* a *new revolution* to take place in the *Ciſalpine republic*. The Legiſlature of France was diſpleaſed at this act of uſurpation and unwarranted power; and amidſt other murmurs the following inſtrument added its reproof.

"Paris, 10th Vendemiaire (October 9) 1798.

"The French conſtitution was *given* to the Ciſalpine re-
"public. Treaties of alliance had been formed between
"the two governments; by the exiſtence therefore of theſe
"ſolemn treaties, the *two* governments were *equally* inde-
"pendent.

"An occaſion might doubtleſs occur, when the ſafety of
"France would require precautions to be taken in Italy,
"and when a ſtate of war would demand reforms and *changes*;
"then it would be excuſable in France to MAKE" (though both are *equally independent*) "the Ciſalpine republic SUBMIT
"to a temporary DEPRIVATION of her INDEPENDENCE.
"In ſuch a caſe France might JUSTLY TAKE BACK *what*
"*ſhe has* GIVEN."

Lucian Buonaparte to his Colleagues.

Thus

Thus the fact of tyranny is clearly recogniſed while it is condemned; and though the *fact* is condemned, the *principle* of tyranny is openly juſtified while it is *demonſtratively* eſtabliſhed. But ſince in the firſt paragraph of this paper, *independence* is recogniſed on the baſis of *ſolemn treaty*; ſince, in the ſecond paragraph, *every principle* of *independence* is DESTROYED, and the baſis of policy is fully aſcertained and preciſely announced in this maxim, "*what France has given, France may take away*;" therefore this boaſted independence, purchaſed with all that was found in morals, juſt in policy, or venerable in wiſdom; theſe modern republics, reared upon the ruins of whatever was dear to man and holy in the eyes of God; this independence and theſe republics, cemented with blood and horrors, all tumble at the breath of a French Directory, all belong to France, if the Legiſlature WILLS it. Thus ſays this legiſlator while he rebukes the Directory—"France might JUSTLY TAKE BACK what" (independence) "ſhe has given: but even then the *Directory* "could have no right to make the neceſſary *alterations*" (which alterations are, the *deprivation* or *taking back* of *independence*) "*without* the *conſent* of the Legiſlative Body."

Hence therefore by this act of the Directory, in *having* overturned the government of the Ciſalpine republic, in open violation of ſolemn treaties, which gave it EQUAL independence with France; and by this public juſtification of the *principle* or *right* of ſtripping governments of their independence, the *revolutionized nations* of Europe may *calculate* the NATURE and the EXTENT of their NEW LIBERTY.

But what is this liberty? What is the independence acquired by theſe revolutionized nations? Their liberty is but chains—

chains—fetters ſteeped in blood, and embelliſhed with a falſe name. But are they the lighter?

Let us now track the progreſs of this grand revolution in *facts*—in the *plunder* of nations—in the *diſpoſal* of *ſtates* and *people*, like fields and cattle, to *other maſters*—and in the *deſtruction* of *old republics* becauſe they were *not free*, for the creation of *new republics* to become tributary and enſlaved.

THE AUTHOR.

ENUMERA-

ENUMERATION

OF THE

Contributions, Confiſcations, Requiſitions,

&c. &c.

FIRST CAMPAIGN.

TERRITORY OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

Circle of Burgundy, or Belgic Provinces, including Liege; which Diſtricts were united with France in 1795.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
1. MILITARY contributions to the end of 1796, as appear by an account from the Adminiſtration to the Directory —	45,000,000	1,800,000
2. Requiſitions of all kinds, in cattle, victuals, ammunition, &c. which were paid in aſſignats at par	40,000,000	1,600,000
3. Jewels, and other valuable trinkets, taken by force out of the palaces and pawn-houſes, &c.	60,000,000	2,500,000
4. Forced loans — —	80,000,000	3,200,000
5. Patents and privileges —	25,000,000	1,000,000
6. Domains of the nation and clergy, moveables and other property of the common claſs of emigrants, eſtimated at —	600,000,000	25,000,000
7. Revenues of the princes, at 40 millions per annum, for 4 years —	160,000,000	6,500,000
8. Ordinary eſtabliſhed taxes		
9. Extraordinary ſale of the beſt timber *	60,000,000	2,500,000
10. Maintenance of their great armies during four years, levied on the inhabitants		
11. Arrears of contributions, from 1794, 1795, and 1796, with thoſe laid on in 1797	200,000,000	8,000,000
12. Contributions after the conqueſts in 1794	75,000,000	3,000,000

* One of the ſources of royal revenue abroad was the ſale of foreſt timber, which was felled at ordinary and fixed periods; but the French had no limitation as to quantity or time.

13. Pro-

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
13. Proportion of the forced loan —	56,000,000	2,250,000
Second contribution of the town of Bruſſels	1,250,000	50,000

N. B. It has been calculated that the French carried away out of Belgium two thouſand millions of livres, or eighty millions pounds ſterling.

TERRITORY OF HIS PRUSSIAN MAJESTY.

The Dutchy of Cleves, and Country on the Borders of the Meuſe.

1. Contributions and requiſitions of 1794	1,600,000	64,000
2. Revenues of the dutchy from 1794, at 1,200,000 livres *per annum*, for three years —	3,600,000	144,000
3. Supplies, till the peace in 1795 —	720,000	28,800
4. Cutting down and ſale of the timber of all the royal woods		
5. Contributions of the manufacturing town of Arefeldt		

THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES, OR THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC.

1. Contributions in ready money, or forced loans payable in the courſe of eight years, and the bills iſſued by the French —	200,000,000	8,000,000
2. Pay and maintenance of twenty-five thouſand French ſoldiers, for three years, at one guilder per day, at 1*s*. 8*d*. per guilder —		2,281,250

N. B. The French troops in Holland live in a ſtyle of luxury unknown to thoſe of the Batavian republic.

3. Requiſitions and ſupplies, according to the proclamation iſſued at the Hague, 17th January 1795, conſiſting of corn, hay, ſtraw, ſhoes, boots, clothes, linen, hats, oxen, &c. furniſhed in three months — —	18,995,000	759,800
4. Enormous loſs of the Dutch by the aſſignats, which they were forced to take at the rate of 10 ſtivers per livre, being the value at par, when every ſoldier received five hundred livres for a louisd'or, which, by the aſſiſtance of the Jews, cauſed the latter to become abominable uſurers, in which their loſs amounted at leaſt to	400,000,000	16,000,000
5. Revenues and moveables of the Stadtholder carried to France — — —		Immenſe.
6. Property of the Engliſh, Brabanters, and emigrants, valued at — —	100,000,000	4,000,000
7. Contributions in ready money before the peace		
8. Ceded territory; great part of Zealand and the Dutch Netherlands		

DIFFERENT TERRITORIES,

Comprising the Country from Holland to Alsace, between the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Rhine.

			Livres.	£. Sterling
1. Sundry forced loans	—	—	23,000,000	920,000
2. Aix la Chapelle, with its dependencies				
Contributions	—	*Liv.* 16,000,000		
Requisitions	—	7,000,000		
			23,000,000	920,000
3. Dutchy of Juliers and Limburg		—	27,480,000	1,992,000
4. Electorate of Cologne				
Contributions	—	*Liv.* 24,000,000		
Requisition	—	4,720,000		
			28,720,000	1,148,800
Whereof the inhabitants of the town paid three millions.				
5. Cologne; contribution and requisition			5,200,000	208,000
6. The extensive library, drawings, prints, manuscripts, &c. valued at		— —	500,000	20,000
7. Maintenance of troops to December 1797			2,000,000	80,000
8. Saarbruck; contributions and requisitions			1,380,000	55,200

THE ELECTORATE OF TRIERS.

1. Contributions for Triers and Coblentz				4,600,000	184,000
2. Requisitions	—	—	—	1,520,000	60,800

THE PALATINATE OF THE RHINE.

From the Bailiwicks of Oggersheim and Germersheim.

1. Contributions	—	—	—	8,000,000	320,000
2. Requisitions	—	—	—	2,420,000	69,800
3. Particular imposts;	Frankenthal	*Liv.* 160,000			
	Kirchberg	140,000			
	Simmern	192,000			
	Kreuznach	218,000			
	Bingen	280,000			
	Alzey	232,000			
	Oppenheim	220,000			
	Sundry Boroughs	600,000			
				2,042,000	81,680

DEUX PONTS.

1. Contributions and requisitions			470,000	
2. Worms and Spires	—	—	2,400,000	
Bishopric of Spires	—	—	1,000,000	
3. Contributions and requisitions, second time			200,000	

	Livres.	Livres.	£. Sterling.
4. Biſchweiler — — —	25,000		
Zabern — — —	35,000		
Dertweil, contributions —	25,000		
——— requiſitions —	300,000		
		385,000	
			178,000

DUTCHY OF BERGEN.

1. Contributions — — —		800,000	32,000
2. Requiſitions of oats, wheat, rye, ſtraw, oatmeal, horſes, ſheep, oxen, &c. — —		1,664,000	66,560

CIRCLE OF SUABIA.

From 1ſt December 1792 to 1ſt May following.

According to the records of the Diet of Ratiſbonne the Circle of Suabia paid in contributions and requiſitions — — —		24,228,418	969,136

B. SECOND CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY IN 1796.

1. CONTRIBUTIONS ſince the peace with the Emperor, in the diſtricts bordering on the Lhan — — — — —		900,000	36,000
Whereof the territory of Laubach was hardly able to pay 14,800 *liv.* and the French exacted above that — — — —		16,000	620
2. Wetzlar, notwithſtanding its neutrality, was forced to pay — — — —		150,000	6,000
3. General Hoche, by proclamation, made the countries ſituated between the Sieg, Nidda, Maine, and Rhine (except the Heſſian and Pruſſian territories), pay — — — —		4,000,000	160,000
The countries between the Sieg and Roer	*Liv.* 1,800,000		
Mentz — — —	1,200,000		
Triers — — —	3,000,000		
Cologne — —	160,000		
		6,160,000	246,400
4. The table of the commander in chief was ſerved at the rate of 1,500 *liv.* (60*l.* ſterling) a day, thoſe of the brigade generals at the rate of 300 *liv.* (12*l.* ſterling).			
5. Requiſitions of all ſorts and every where; General Hoche commanded that proviſions and food ſhould be furniſhed for the whole army, viz. ſixty thouſand men and horſes.			

6. Revenues

	Livres.	Livres.	£. Sterling.
6. Revenues of the Empire — — —		346,900,000	13,840,000
——————— provinces —	19,230,000		
Coſt of the armies till 1796 —	43,805,375		
Plate from the churches and ſales of wood — —	14,600,000		
		77,635,375	3,105,215
7. Confiſcated eſtates, proviſions, and ammunition in the conquered countries.			
8. Franconia, for its neutrality in Italy, was obliged to pay within fourteen days in ready money		10,000,000	400,000
9. The city of Frankfort paid 2,000,000 *liv.* beſides wheat, brandy, vinegar, ſalt, hay, ſtraw, oats, and cattle — — — —		4,000,000	160,000
10. Other requiſitions — — —		1,000,000	40,000
Eight common-council-men and fifteen citizens were carried away as hoſtages: one hundred and fifty houſes and warehouſes deſtroyed, whereby three hundred families were ruined.			
11. Other requiſitions — — —		1,800,000	72,000
12. Wirtemberg paid, according to the capitulation		2,500,000	100,000
13. Bamberg — — — —		2,000,000	80,000

DUTCHY OF WIRTEMBERG.

According to the Treaty of Peace in Auguſt 1796.

1. Contributions in ready money — —		4,000,000	160,000
2. Requiſitions of horſes, corn, ſhoes, &c. —		431,000	17,240
3. Ceded territory, viz. Montbeliard, Hericourt, Paſſavant, revenues, &c. and domains of the prince, &c. ſold.			
4. Amongſt the ſecret articles, it is ſtipulated in the ſecond article, that the Duke is obliged to pay all his debts to his ſubjects become French citizens, who therefore enjoy a fixed rent in the intereſt.			
By the fourth article he is prohibited from ſending his contingent to the army of the Empire in a future war.			
The fifth article allows the French to occupy all the ſtrong places in his dominions in times of war.			
5. Beſides that he was obliged to pay every month 200,000 *liv.* till the peace with Auſtria ſhould be ſigned; therefore, from 1ſt Vendemiaire 1796 to April 1797, eight months — —		1,600,000	64,000
6. The abbeys of Kempten, Lindau, Bucha, together with the whole bench of Suabian biſhops, forced to pay — — — —		7,000,000	280,000
7. They had alſo engaged to maintain the whole army.			

SUABIA.

By the Peace of 10th Auguſt 1797.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
In ready money — — — —	19,000,000	
8,400 horſes — — — —	3,360,000	
5,000 oxen — — — —	1,250,000	
150,000 cwt. wheat, &c. — —	1,950,000	
150,000 cwt. hay — — — —	450,000	
100,000 ſacks of oats — — —	1,000,000	
100,000 pairs of ſhoes — — —	500,000	
	27,510,000	1,104,000

MARGRAVATE OF BADEN.

By the Peace of the 2d Auguſt 1797.

In ready money — — — —	2,000,000	
1,000 horſes — — — —	400,000	
500 oxen — — — —	125,000	
25,000 cwt. wheat, &c. — — —	325,000	
50,000 cwt. hay — — —	150,000	
12,000 ſacks oats — — —	120,000	
25,000 pairs ſhoes — — —	125,000	
	3,245,000	129,800

BAVARIA.

7th September 1796.

In ready money — — — —	10,000,000	
3,300 horſes — — — —	1,320,000	
200,000 cwt. wheat, &c. — —	2,600,000	
100,000 ſacks oats — — —	1,000,000	
200,000 cwt. hay — — —	600,000	
200,000 pairs ſhoes — — —	500,000	
10,000 pairs boots — — —	200,000	
30,000 yards cloth for the officers — —	750,000	
	16,970,000	678,800

TERRITORY OF MILAN; OR CISALPINE REPUBLIC.

On the firſt Entry in 1795.

1. On the capture of Milan, the French found therein 5,000 muſkets and 20,000lb. cannon powder, with large quantities of other ammunition and victuals, eſtimated at — —	2,000,000	80,000
2. Firſt contribution, whereof one fourth was to be paid within three days — — —	20,000,000	800,000

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
3. Requiſition. One perſon taken out of every hundred in order to form an army of 30,000 men, whereof two hundred families of the nobility were obliged to pay the whole equipment —	5,000,000	200,000
4. Monthly payment of one million to the French army, from 1ſt Jan. 1797, fifteen months —	15,000,000	600,000
5. Pay of 20,000 French ſoldiers, at two livres per day, for a year — — —	14,600,000	584,000
6. Requiſitions, viz. 12,000 waiſtcoats 10,000 pantaloons 30,000 yards of fine cloth 20,000 ſhirts 10,000 pairs of ſhoes 5,000 pairs of ſpatterdaſhes 2,000 fine hats Large quantities of wheat, oats, ſtraw, hay, flour, oxen, &c. eſtimated at — — —	41,000,000	1,640,000
7. The Ciſalpine Directory have been forced to purchaſe the domains and eſtates of the Emperor in the dutchy of Mantua, for — —	3,000,000	120,000
N. B. Theſe extraordinary ſums have been chiefly procured by loans, lotteries, &c.		
8. In the pawn-houſes were found ſeven thouſand bales of ſilk, jewels, valuable trinkets, &c. eſtimated at — — — —	40,000,000	1,600,000
Which the French ſold by public auction.		
9. Ferrara gave 1,500 oxen, with large quantities of other proviſions, and paid ſince its union —	3,000,000	120,000
10. Revenues of the ſovereign, &c. (perhaps about two millions ſterling per ann.).		
11. The plate of the churches, the money found in all public treaſuries, pictures, antiques, ſtatues, in ſhort every thing valuable and that could be removed, eſtimated at leaſt at — —	100,000,000	4,000,000
12. The merchants paid a forced loan of —	600,000	24,000
13. The loan of General Berthier — —	1,800,000	72,000
14. Agreeable to the treaty of commerce and alliance the Ciſalpine republic engaged themſelves to pay yearly to France — — —	18,000,000	720,000

Articles not eſtimated.

1. All the landed and other property of the clergy.
2. ——————————————————— emigrants.
3. ——————————————————— foreigners.

SARDINIA,

By the diſgraceful Treaty of Peace of the 15th May 1796, after the ſigning of which the King ſhortly died of Vexation and a broken Heart.

1. The ceſſion of Savoy, Niza, Tenda, Boglio, and the fortifications of Coni, Ceva, Fortua, Exilis,

Zura,

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Zura, Aſſiette, Brunette, Chateau Dauphin, Alexandria, Valenza, &c.		
2. Proviſion and ammunition found in the fortified places, maintenance of the troops, extraordinary requiſitions and contributions in all the above places.		
3. *Expenſes* for *demoliſhing* Zura and Brunette, to be paid by his Majeſty, as ſtipulated in the treaty.		
4. Domains and revenues of the princes, the clergy, and the emigrants, and all the property of ſubjects of the enemies of France, reſident in Sardinia.		
5. The plate of all the churches.		
6. Contributions for, and maintenance of all the armies, before the treaty of peace.		
7. A part of Piedmont, occupied by the French, and, according to the treaty of peace, remaining ſubject to the requiſitions.		

MODENA.

12th May 1796.

Notwithſtanding the treaty of peace, the Jacobins received inſtructions to force the Prince to pay in the ſucceeding month thirty millions, which ſo terrified this aged perſonage, that at the age of ſeventy years he took flight and embarked for Trieſte.

1. Ready money, paid within a week — —	10,000,000	400,000
2. Twenty valuable pictures — — —	400,000	16,000
The 10th of July, the French took poſſeſſion of Modena and Maſſa, notwithſtanding the treaty, and they were united to the republic.		
3. Landed and other property of the clergy and emigrants.		
4. Revenues and plate of the churches.		

REPUBLIC OF LUCCA.

1796 *and* 1798.

1. Contributions and requiſitions — —	4,000,000	160,000
N. B. They were threatened with the expenſes attending a military execution of the above decree, in caſe of non-compliance.		
2. Forced loan — — — —	1,000,000	40,000

NAPLES.

According to the Treaty of Peace in 1796.

1. Two hundred and fifty horſes, completely equipped, eſtimated at — — —	150,000	6,000
2. According to a ſecret article they were to pay	7,000,000	280,000

GENOA,

GENOA, 1796.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
1. Ready money by forced loans —	4,000,000	160,0000
2. Requiſitions of every ſpecies, during eighteen months		

TUSCANY, 1796.

1. Forced loans in ready money —	8,000,000	320,000
2. Maintenance of the troops during nine months		
3. Conſiderable property of the Engliſh, and other ſubjects of the enemy, eſtabliſhed at Leghorn, eſtimated at more than ſeveral millions of livres.		

HEREDITARY DOMINIONS OF THE EMPEROR,

Taken poſſeſſion of in March 1797.

1. Enormous contributions before the ſigning of the preliminaries, at Trieſte, Fiume, Gratz, &c.
2. Plunder from the mines in Italy; whereof a part was ſaved by the Imperialiſts before it could be tranſported to Trieſte.
3. Maintenance of the armies during the invaſion.
4. By the treaty of Leoben the Emperor engaged to maintain eighty thouſand men on their return.

THE TERRITORIES OF THE POPE.

(A.) *Firſt Armiſtice at Bologna, 23d June* 1796.

1. Ready money; whereof, with the aid of the Sixtinian treaſure at the Engelſburg, five millions of ſcudi were paid in two terms	21,000,000	840,000
2. Requiſitions of all ſorts, eſtimated at	5,000,000	200,000
3. One hundred of the beſt paintings and ſtatues, according to the choice of the French commiſſaries, whereof one half was delivered; and, though above all price for connoiſſeurs, eſtimated only at twenty thouſand livres each	1,000,000	40,000
4. Contributions of the towns of Bologna (4), Ferrara (2) — — —	6,000,000	240,000
5. Requiſitions of all ſorts in the months of July, Auguſt, and September, levied on the towns	6,000,000	240,000

(B.) *Peace of* 18*th February* 1797.

1. In ready money and diamonds —	30,000,000	1,200,000
2. Two hundred of the moſt precious pictures, ſtatues, and manuſcripts, eſtimated at the low rate of twenty thouſand livres each —	4,000,000	160,000

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
3. For murdering Baſſeville, through his family loſſes, amounting to* — —	300,000	12,000
4. Requiſition of eight hundred ſaddle-horſes (whereof the Pope gave four hundred out of his own ſtables), eight hundred draught-horſes, and eight hundred oxen — — —	800,000	32,000
5. Revenue of the Santa Caſa at Loretto —	450,000	18,000
6. Fiefs, with their dependencies — —	3,000,000	120,000

The following articles we could not value with any accuracy, and therefore leave them, with the others not valued, to the judgment of our readers:

7. Avignon, with its revenues, the plate of the churches, and eſtates of the clergy.
8. Of the provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, Ancona, and Romania, with all the proviſions and ammunition, fiefs, property of the clergy and the churches, eſtimated at one half of the Pope's revenues.
9. The treaſure of Loretto was valued at one hundred and twenty millions; whereof a part fell into the hands of the French
10. Maintenance of the French troops during the invaſion

(C.) *Rome become free in* 1798.

1. The firſt bleſſing of this beloved liberty was, that the Romans were to pay four millions of ſcudi, or twenty millions of livres: whereof one fifth was to be paid within twenty-four hours, half in money and half in bills; and towards which eighteen of the firſt houſes were to contribute each twenty thouſand, others ten thouſand, and the third claſs ſix thouſaud ſcudi	20,000,000	800,000
2. Requiſitions, proviſions, &c. —	20,000,000	800,000
Four thouſand horſes, at five hundred livres each	2,000,000	80,000

3. Plates of all the churches, eſtates of the Pope and the clergy, to a very large amount.

N. B. The Grand-treaſurer Haller and General Berthier would be able to give a ſtill more accurate account.

In the beginning of April General St. Cyr ordered a contribution of 3 *per cent.* on the property of the laity, and 5 *per cent.* on that of the clergy, for the maintenance of the French troops.

Rome, April 14.

The ſecurity of the alum-mines at Rocca was purchaſed for the ſum of one million of ſcudi,

* The obſcure and almoſt unintelligible words of the original are, "*Fur die ermordung "Baſſeville an ſeiner familie.*"

and

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
and Meſſrs. Georgi paid one hundred and five thouſand pezziduros * for the privilege to work it to the end of the term, viz. for eighteen months — — — — —	5,525,000	221,000

THE FORMER REPUBLIC OF VENICE,

In 1796 *and* 1797.

1. Sundry forced loans, and contributions of all ſorts — — — —	14,000,000	560,000
2. Immenſe preparations for defence againſt the republicans (which almoſt totally fell into the hands of the French), ammunition, proviſions, &c. — — — —	30,000,000	1,200,000
3. Verona, in obedience to a proclamation, paid from May to the end of June, in contributions and requiſitions — — —	4,095,788	163,831
Increaſe of the public debt three millions.		
4. The rich merchants of Venice were taxed enormouſly, viz. *Ducats.*		
Francis Neck — — 110,000		
Heinzelman — — — 50,000		
Treves — — — — 45,000		
Sarias — — — — 30,000		
Several others of leſs conſequence 200,000		
	21,750,000	870,000
5. The municipality of Venice marked their tranſitory reign by forced loans and enormous requiſitions on their brothers in liberty, amounting at leaſt to — — — — —	12,500,000	500,000
6. The contributions of every kind amounted to ſuch quantities, that the French could not carry them away, ſo that they forced the Venetians to re-buy them † — — —	1,500,000	60,000
7. The whole Venetian navy, well equipped, thirty-ſix ſhips (whereof twenty were of the line), carrying two thouſand guns, at one thouſand pounds ſterling per gun — — —	50,000,000	2,000,000
8. The whole arſenal of Venice, richly ſtocked	40,000,000	1,600,000
9. All the property of the public pawn banks, and money in the public treaſuries		
All the valuable productions of the arts, &c.		
10. The iſland of Zante in part, as contribution	200,000	80,000

SPAIN.

1. The invaded provinces overloaded with plunder and contributions; the Spaniſh part of St. Do-

* Hard dollars.

† In Wirtemberg the French ſoldiers were ſo oppreſſed with the plunder collected on all ſides, that, unable to carry the ſilver, they gave two hundred louis in ſilver for one in gold.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
minge ceded to the French; the maintenance of the army during one year, pillage of the cannon founderies of Regny and Orbinelle, and of the manufactories at Gratia — —	30,000,000	1,400,000
2. Increaſe of the national debt of two hundred million of dollars, ſo that it amounts now to four hundred and ſixty millions.		

PORTUGAL.

By the treaty of peace in 1797, which was not immediately ratified, the government was to pay three millions and a half of cruſados, which they offered to diſcharge in diamonds, valued at one million and a half pounds ſterling. Probably its neutrality will coſt much more than —	37,560,000	1,500,000

SWITZERLAND.

1. General Schauenberg levied a military contribution on the canton of Bern, the 4th April,

6,000 cwt. wheat	10,000 pair of ſtockings
3,500 —— oats	10,000 ſhirts
13,000 —— hay	10,000 pair of ſhoes
12,000 —— ſtraw	200 oxen
12,000 —— ſalt	Large quantities of wine,
150 —— rice	brandy, vinegar, &c. va-

lued at — — — — 4,000,000 1,600,000

2. Paid in caſh 2d April, and contributed by families which had the greateſt influence 300,000 12,000

3. Found in the treaſury at Bern — — 6,000,000 240,000

The arſenal of Bern contained formerly ſix hundred pieces of cannon, arms for twenty thouſand cavalry, and eighty thouſand infantry. Joſeph II. ſaid that it was too ſmall for a great monarchy, and too great for a ſmall republic. The French found here two hundred cannon, of large calibre, and the greateſt part of the arms and ammunition above mentioned.

N. B. Le Carliere, notwithſtanding the convention at Arau, ordered that all the money contained in the public treaſuries ſhould be delivered up to the French.

The canton of Bern is obliged to maintain ten thouſand French infantry and one thouſand cavalry. In this manner the *great* nation has diſtributed an army of one hundred thouſand men to be maintained by their tributary allies, to keep them in ſlavery.

HAMBURG.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Contribution in the year 1796 — —	3,000,000	120,000
——————1798 — —	4,000,000	160,000

BREMEN AND LUBECK

Have paid at leaſt — — — —	3,000,000	120,000

The French aſked from the Hanſe towns twelve millions on a very vague ſecurity; but the town of Hamburg, to get rid of ſo dangerous a loan, preferred to make a preſent of four millions. How the other two towns may accommodate the buſineſs, we hope ſoon to be informed

RECAPITULATION.

Territory of his Imperial Majeſty	1,402,350,000	56,094,000
Ditto of his Pruſſian Majeſty —	5,980,000	239,200
Holland — — —	873,745,000	34,949,800
Various territories, from Holland to Alſace; particularly the country between the Moſelle, Meuſe, and Rhine — —	145,780,000	5,831,200
Triers — — —	6,120,000	244,800
Palatinate — — —	12,462,000	498,480
Deux Ponts — — —	4,455,000	178,200
Suabia — — —	57,758,408	2,310,337
Dutchy of Bergen — —	2,464,000	98,560
The Empire. Second Campaign —	464,061,375	18,562,455
Wirtemberg — — —	13,031,100	521,244
Bavaria — — —	16,970,000	678,800
Baden — — —	3,345,000	131,800
Milan, or Ciſalpine Republic —	284,000,000	11,360,000
Sardinia; conſiderable tract of territory		
Modena — — —	10,400,000	416,000
Lucca — — —	5,000,000	200,000
Parma — — —	3,850,000	154,000
Naples — — —	150,000	6,000
Genoa — — —	4,000,000	160,000
Tuſcany — — —	8,000,000	320,000
Imperial territory		
Venice — — —	172,045,788	6,881,832
Spain — — —	30,000,000	1,200,000
Portugal — — —	36,000,000	1,440,000
Switzerland — — —	10,300,000	412,000
Hamburg — — —	7,000,000	280,000
Bremen and Lubeck — —	3,000,000	120.000
	3,582,267,681	143,200,708

ESTIMAT

ESTIMATE OF THE LOSSES SUSTAINED BY EUROPE THROUGH THE MEANS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

[*The Losses of Men and the Expenses of War are not included here; as England alone has spent many Million Pounds Sterling.*]

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Total amount of requisitions and contributions, as specified — —	3,582,267,681	143,290,707
Loss of the Dutch by the bankruptcies of the Great Nation — —	1,920,000,000	76,800,000
Unvalued property; as plate of the churches, maintenance of the armies, palaces, houses, national domains, property of the emigrants in the conquered countries, fortifications, ceded territories, their regular revenues, &c. &c. — —	20,000,000,000	800,000,000
Enormous amount of assignats, mandats, &c. poured out amongst mankind, whereby millions of credulous people were deceived. — Fifty milliards of assignats; whereof (including what was lost by foreigners in the public funds) one-third may be taken in calculation —	16,666,666,666	666,666,667
A great number of large and small American vessels, taken without a declaration of war, by piracy, which amount in number to more than one thousand; and valuing each with its cargo at only one thousand pounds, the amount is — —	25,000,000	1,000,000
A number of vessels taken from the other neutral powers together —	100,000,000	4,000,000
N. B. We do not reckon the losses of Great Britain and Ireland in commercial vessels, as the French have lost more than their amount in ships of war.		
Total loss of Europe in money, goods, and territory — — —	42,293,934,347	1,691,757,374

Should any one find this calculation over-rated, he will please to consider, that all the countries conquered by the French nation were the most rich, populous, industrious, and fruitful parts of the continent, and that this turbulent republic has at present the best fouth part of Europe under her command. She has so rounded and fortified herself, that she is enabled to keep all nations in a state of perpetual agitation.

Countries

Countries conquered and united, or made tributary to the French Republic.

CIRCLE OF BURGUNDY.

Conſiſting of the greateſt part of the dutchies of Brabant, part of the dutchies of Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelders, and part of the counties of Flanders, Hainault, and Namur; containing four hundred and ſeventy-one geographical miles, one hundred and thirty-nine towns, and two millions of inhabitants. The net revenue amounts to ſix millions of florins, about five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

They belonged formerly to the Emperor, ſome few ſmall diſtincts excepted.

CIRCLE OF WESTPHALIA.

The dutchies of Cleves, Moers, Juliers; the two former belonging to Pruſſia, the latter to the Elector Palatine.

The town of Liege, the Imperial towns of Cologne and Aix la Chapelle, except the bailiwicks of Altenwied, Sclingen, Neuerberg, &c. on the right ſide of the Rhine.

The abbeys of Stablo, Malmedi, Thorn, the counties of Limburg, Schleden, Kerpen, Lammerum, Blankenſtein, Gerolſtein, and Fagnales.

CIRCLE OF THE UPPER RHINE.

The Imperial town of Worms, with its territory, except Stein: the biſhopric of Spires, except Bruchſal, Grombach, Rothenburg, Philipſburg.

The county of Mombeillard, with the dependencies belonging to it, which the Duke of Wirtemberg ceded to the French in 1796.

Palatinate. The principalities of Simmern, Lautern, Veldenz, and part of the county of Sponheim.

Heſſe Darmſtadt. The counties of Hanaulichtenberg.

Deux Ponts. Part of the county of Sponheim.

Naſſau Saarbruck. The counties of Saarbruck and Ottweiler.

Foreſts on the Rhine. The principality of Salms, the Rhine county of Grombach, the county of Stein.

Counties. Falkenſtein, belonging to Auſtria, the counties of Leiningen, Reitzingen, Brentzenheim, Ripoltſkirchen, Dachſtube, Ottbruck.

CIRCLE OF THE LOWER RHINE.

The Electorate of Mentz, on the left bank of the Rhine.

Triers.

The greateſt part of the Palatinate, except Heidelberg, Manheim, Ladenburg and Bretten.

The county of Ahrenberg.

The burggravate of Reineck.

THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES OF HOLLAND, OR BATAVIAN REPUBLIC.

Conquered and made tributary. According to the laſt official reports to the Convention, they contain one million eight hundred thouſand inhabitants,

bitants, ſix hundred and twenty-five geographical miles, and three millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling revenue *.

SAVOY AND NICE.

Conquered and taken poſſeſſion of. At leaſt about four hundred and eighteen geographical miles, one million five hundred thouſand inhabitants, and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling revenue.

CISALPINE REPUBLIC.

1. *Milan.*

Conquered and tributary. The former Lombardy contained two hundred and thirty-five geographical miles, one million three hundred and forty thouſand inhabitants; and the net revenue amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

2. *Modena, Parma, and Piacenza.*

Conquered and united to the tributary Ciſalpine republic; containing one hundred and eighty geographical miles, three hundred and thirty thouſand inhabitants; and net revenue thirty thouſand pounds ſterling †.

FORMER REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

Conquered.—Whereof Breſcia, Verona, and the terra firma to the ſouth and weſt of the Adige, are united with the Ciſalpine republic.

The iſlands of Zante, Corfu, Cephalonia, are united with France. The town of Venice, with the other parts of its ſtates, are ceded to Auſtria.

Theſe territories contain eight hundred geographical miles, two millions ſixty-three thouſand inhabitants; and revenue one million two hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling.

GENOA, OR LIGURIAN REPUBLIC.

Conquered and tributary.—Containing one hundred geographical miles, four hundred and eighty thouſand inhabitants, and three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling revenue.

THE POPE'S TERRITORY, OR ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Conquered and tributary.—Whereof Bologna and Ferrara are united to the tributary Ciſalpine republic. Before the war, theſe ſtates contained eight hundred and ſixty-four geographical miles, two millions five hundred thouſand inhabitants; and revenue ſeven hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand pounds ſterling.

THE SWISS OR LEMANIC REPUBLIC.

Conquered and tributary.—Whereof the biſhopric of Baſle and Geneva are united to France. Containing nine hundred and fifty geographical miles, two millions of inhabitants; and revenue two hundred and ninety thouſand pounds ſterling.

* We beg leave to differ from the author, and to ſtate on the authorities of Peſtel, Crome, and Mellebois, that the middle calculation of the population of this country amounts to two millions five hundred thouſand.

† According to the authorities of Buſching and others, we beg leave to ſtate, that the ſize of theſe countries is one hundred and eighty-two geographical miles, the population five hundred and ſeventy thouſand, and the revenues one million eight hundred thouſand rix-dollars.

A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

EARL CHOLMONDELEY.

My Lord,

AMIDST the monumental records of nations, as to their exaltation and decline, we diſcover the true principles of legiſlation. Theſe models, ſo venerable in their wiſdom, but awful in their fall, inſtruct us in what the legiſlators of France ought to have done, did not do, yet muſt do, or become victims of external vengeance and internal impolicy. Common animal force is ſufficient to pull down the ſublimeſt edifices of human grandeur. But great combinations of mind are neceſſary to raiſe up a ſolid monument of civil policy. The French have proved their poſſeſſion of the animal requiſites, but they have alſo proved their groſs deficiency of the intellectual power. Theſe men were ignorant of the art of government.

The legiſlators and founders of ancient empires proceeded upon a grand ſcale. They conſulted the policy of nature, the policy of the paſſions. The one comprehends all the

phyſical relations of countries as to ſize, poſition, and advantages. The other comprehends the moral caſt of ſocieties, that is, the manners or moral effects of natural and civil cauſes. Without this chart and compaſs for legiſlation, the laws become contradictory to the manners, and the ſpirit of the nation reſiſts or eludes the law. And hence enſues what is the greateſt vice of government, men live no longer under the empire of the laws.

When the form of civil government changes, the laws muſt change alſo. Rome when monarchical, and without laws ſuited to monarchy, became ſubmiſſive to the caprice, and bent under the tyranny of the emperors. Lacedæmon, on the contrary, being conſulted as to its genius and manners by Lycurgus, was elevated by his laws; though theſe laws would at this day degrade nations. For policy and purity muſt be conſonant. This is demonſtrated under Agis. When the manners of the Lacedæmonians had changed, he weakly wiſhed to re-eſtabliſh the laws of Lycurgus. But that which had ſuited and exalted the ſtate before, now inflamed and made it revolt; and Agis was condemned by the ſenate. Hence, therefore, it is manifeſt, that not only the policy of nature, but of the paſſions, is abſolutely neceſſary to guide the formation of laws. For even virtue, which made it doubtful whether Lycurgus was a god or a man, made Agis criminal unto death. It loſt its efficacy when it loſt the aid of the policy of the paſſions; and its operations became deſtructive when no longer harmonizing with the change of Lacedæmonian manners.

Whether laws be made for ourſelves, or conquered ſtates; whether they be forced upon nations, as they were by Lycurgus on the Spartans, with all the apparel of uſurpation; or whether they be demanded by nations, as they were by the Athenians from Solon; ſtill theſe principles hold univerſally

and

and unalterably. The manners of nations muſt be the polar ſtar of lawgivers. By the auſterity of Lacedæmon, Lycurgus was guided; Solon by the poliſhed ſoftneſs of Athens. And in conſequence of this bias of the paſſions, Solon did not give to the Athenian ſtate the beſt laws, but, as he ſaid himſelf, according to Plutarch, he gave the beſt that Athenians could receive.

If then, by this touchſtone, the ſyſtem of French legiſlation, toward themſelves or conquered nations, be tried, will a ſingle ray of the wiſdom of Solon or Lycurgus appear?

Monſtrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui *lumen* ademptum.—VIRG.

A blind contradiction to all that is wiſe in principle, ſound in practice, or great and eſtabliſhed in example.

According to Ariſtotle, Solon was regarded as a wiſe legiſlator. And why? Becauſe he deſtroyed the immoderate * power of a ſmall number of citizens and the ſervitude of the people. But on the contrary, this is the very form and preſſure of the French ſyſtem. The Directory of five is

* See the act of uſurpation on the part of the Directory, as ſtated by L. Buonaparte, page 4. The wiſdom of Solon was highly conſpicuous in having mixed with ſuch art the different forms of government. The ſeparate bearing, the combined countercheck, and the mutual ſupport of the three eſtates, like the Tripod of old, exalt him as one inſpired by a Deity. His plan offered to our fathers the ſublime idea of the Britiſh conſtitution; but it is in the nature of Britons to improve profoundly upon the wiſdom of others. Therefore as the *ancient oligarchy* became his *Areopagus*, it formed our *monarchical* branch: an inſtitution not only better calculated by its *unity* for the *energies* of *executive* activity, and againſt the *multiplied* † claſhings of *ſelf* with the intereſts of *ſociety*, but alſo ſtronger in its ſimilitude to *parental* nature, and higher in the authority of antiquity — *reges, nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit.* Sal. Catil. The *ariſtocracy* was his *ſenate*, and forms our *Peers*: the *democracy* was his *aſſembly* of the people, and forms our *Commons*.

† Ουκ αγαθον πολυκοιρανιη. εις κοιρανος εστω
Εις βασιλευς. HOMER.

abſolute

abſolute in France and abſolute in Italy, witneſs the Ciſalpine republic: abſolute in Brabant, witneſs the annual plunder of eſtates, and the levies *now* ordered: abſolute in Holland, witneſs its various and capricious changes of governors and governments.

If we look to the ſtate of Athens at another period, we ſhall find that the circumſtances under Pericles, and thoſe under the Directory, ſeem in ſome meaſure to preſent us with a parallel. Pericles paid thoſe members of the people, who aſſiſted at the *aſſembly* to make laws; but eſtabliſhed his *own advancement* upon the *ruin* of thoſe laws. Is it otherwiſe at Paris *? He deſtroyed the manners, already corrupt, by *fêtes*, ſpectacles, and pleaſures. Is it otherwiſe at Paris? He led on the citizens to a forgetfulneſs and ſacrifice of their ſolid and deareſt duties, for the vain glory and reputation of being the firſt people. Is it not ſo at Paris? Enormous ſums were levied † and laviſhed, of which the application could

* Conſult L. Buonaparte's charges againſt the Directory, and the exiles from Cayenne.

† The *accumulation* of *debt* in France is at preſent infinitely beyond the rapid ſtrides of prodigality or ambition in the moſt corrupt period of the monarchy. It may be anſwered, that the *requiſite* expenſes are greater. The fact is otherwiſe. For what is the expenſe of their navy, to-day, compared with other times? What is the expenſe of their army, which is quartered upon and ſupported by other nations? But ſuppoſe the expenſes were greater, what have been their reſources to meet thoſe expenſes, and prevent the accumulation of debt? What have been their plunders, from Italy, from Holland, from Brabant, from Germany, from Spain, from Switzerland, from Malta? What too their annual tributes? What the amount of the crown and church lands? What the amount of the nobles' eſtates? What the amount of their annual taxes within, which, notwithſtanding all the ſupplies of rapacious plunder, are beyond what cruſhed the monarchy of France? Since then the debt increaſes ſo rapidly, and the taxes are ſo great, who has devoured the plunder? Oh abuſed nation, will ye always be children!! your chiefs within make opportunities for the plunderers without, and thoſe without reward with impunity the plunderers within.—Such is the ſyſtem!

not be juſtified:—" It were better," ſaid Alcibiades, " not to render any account of them." This ſally was an oracle to Pericles, whoſe ſpirit has reached to Paris. The grand butt of government became the diſſipation of the people, from the conſideration of domeſtic ills. Is it not ſo at Paris? War and conqueſts abroad, pleaſures and intemperance at home, were their means; and their hope ſucceeded. But the conſequence? Let France look to it.

That the firſt principles of legiſlation are the principles of life to ſtates, appears from the efficacy of their adoption, and the fatality of their rejection. They are the ſteps from lowneſs to exaltation; the means of invigoration in decline; the ſhield againſt death. For, that governments, like ſublunary ſubſtances, bear in themſelves the inſeparable ſeeds of death, is a propoſition from which I beg leave to diſſent. Material bodies and moral combinations are widely different*. The action of exiſtence muſt neceſſarily wear out the one, whereas the action of exiſtence may improve and invigorate the other. The organs of life in the animal ſyſtem become debilitated and will not admit of renovation; but the principles of life in the governmental ſyſtem are laws, and theſe are capable of invigoration and amelioration. And herein conſiſts the uſe of the policy of the paſſions; that by the wiſe harmony of laws with manners, vigour and virtue may be diffuſed through ſociety. Theſe truths are demonſtrated by the riſe and fall of the ancient republics. And this doctrine of legiſlation is at this moment corroborated by the caſe of France.

* On this ground I muſt beg leave not to go ſo far as the philoſophy of Condorcet would lead us on the *perfectibility* of the human ſpecies. In applying his principle to our *organic* ſyſtem, he ſays, " La mort ne ſeroit " plus que l'effet, ou *d'accidens* extraordinaires, ou de la deſtruction *de plus* " *en plus lente* des forces vitales, &c." *L'Eſprit Humain*, 10 *Epoque*.

On the revolution, this nation did not form their laws upon their manners, according to the firſt principles of legiſlation, but undertook to form their manners to the laws which they were about to introduce. Whereas, the wiſe ſtate phyſician will, according to the diſorder of the paſſions, combine and preſcribe his remedy of the laws. But when, for the purpoſe of introducing a *new* medicine, an habit of old diſeaſe is infected with the virulence of freſh diſorder, it is a practice beyond quackery: we muſt hand it over with the barber's baſin to the head of Quixotiſm. And in the ſound and ſober combinations of objects, means, and conſequences, what difference is there between the enthuſiaſt of the woful countenance and thoſe of the merry mien? We find that amidſt all their new laws, their paſſions have, after moſt violent agitations, ſettled upon their ancient centre—not of gravity. But as we cannot wade through this abyſs of their laws, nor fix nor follow their meteor principles, let us touch upon the ſummit of things, which will ſhow the inefficacy of their policy through the progreſs of events.

The morals of France had been undermined by monſtrous and ſucceſſive groups of the paſſions. Theſe paſſions hollowed out an abyſs under the altar and the throne, in which both were finally ingulfed. The monarchy being thus annihilated, a general cry ſet in againſt all the diſtinctive marks of elevation. Even the poliſhed manners of refinement implied crime in the eye of revolutionary rage. The leaders remarked this: and groſſneſs became a pivot to popularity. The philoſophers remarked this: a prominent feature, ſaid they, in the character of ſome ancient republics was groſſneſs;—the characteriſtic too, by which we cenſured, in the time of our miſtaken monarchy, the manners of the Engliſh—(for it run with the vulgarity of repetition through every ſtreet)—was groſſneſs. But groſſneſs is undiſtinguiſhing equality, it is the antidote

antidote and enemy to ſoft and luxurious ſuperiority: let us all be groſs. The legiſlator heard this; and being taught by the leader and the philoſopher that groſſneſs would form a contraſt to the high who had fallen, and an aſſimilation to the low who were riſing, he immediately joined in the cry, holding forth that what was the *mode* in Sparta, and imputed to be *à l'Angloiſe*, muſt be the *vis vitæ* of liberty, and would, under French improvement, give immortality to the republic. With theſe ſentiments to qualify the brutality of vulgar republican rage, the whole maſs of men was transformed into a crew of monſters.

From the phyſical ſuſceptibilities of the French, and the moral bias of their nature, this ſentiment of groſſneſs ſoon widened into the moſt hideous degeneracy of atrocity. It was firſt rouſed by the ſtimulus of hatred to the eſtabliſhed orders—it was then accelerated by an impetus of violence, which pervaded at that criſis all the thoughts and actions of men;—it was invigorated by the hopes of avarice; ſpurred on by the energy of ambition; and maintained its duration till novelty loſt its ſpring, and crime was glutted with its horrors.

The laſt ſtage of exceſs, however, became the firſt one toward a change, and the characteriſtic manners of the nation have gradually found their level again. So that we behold, amidſt all the new laws formed upon new principles, the Directorial Pariſian fluttering about the throne of old paſſions, as gay and complimentary as any monarchical marquis. But is there any example, from the day of creation to this moment, of a nation, long rooted in its manners, becoming pure from having been corrupt? I know of none. How ſublime then would have been the achievement (for it is within the compaſs of moral effects), by a wiſe legiſlation, harmonizing with the paſſions, to have gradually changed

and

and exalted the whole moral ſyſtem of France! But ſince the moral nature of men conſtitutes the moral nature of ſtates—for as men are compoſed of paſſions, ſo muſt ſocieties, which are compoſed of men—conſequently as men become victims to thoſe paſſions, ſo muſt ſtates, when the legiſlator has not ſpread his laws between ſocieties and their manners. This the French have not done; their moral ſyſtem is an incongruous maſs. They have added but new virulence to their old paſſions. It is, however, the ſpontaneous nature of the paſſions to grow in malignancy; and their ſhade deepens as it diffuſes itſelf from one to many. Thus what was egotiſm in the individual, (and where upon the face of the globe was this odious characteriſtic more glaring than in France?) ſtarts into inſolence and pride in nations. Perſonal pride too ſwells out into national ambition; and ambition being a paſſion of a double nature, which is compoſed of pride, and the deſire of poſſeſſion as the marks or inſtrument of power, we may contemplate its effects in an image of France to-day—a bloody coloſſus, brandiſhing in one hand the huge ſword of vain glory, holding in the other the vaſt ſack of ſpoliation, and trampling upon thrones and altars.

But ſince ſuch is the alarming reſult of the policy of this republic, what is to follow? From the foregoing *facts* of plunder and oppreſſion—*chi compra terra, compra guerra*—and from the groſs violation of all the ſolid principles of legiſlation, conſidered externally and internally, we are warranted, upon the grounds of equity and incontrovertible experience, to ſay, *that France* MUST *undergo a change*. Her policy is inconſiſtent with the honour or ſecurity of other ſtates: it is wholly incompatible with her own exiſtence: her moral ſyſtem leaves her *ſupreme* but in *folly*, and the madneſs of her ambition muſt terminate in *equality*, with *ruined* Athens. That republic would have enſlaved all the other ſtates of Greece.

To

To that republic then let France look, and tremble: let her look to ancient Rome. But a nation condemned to eternal infancy, can never emulate Roman grandeur. Britain poſſeſſes her vigour, France has her vices. Rome was the robber of ſtates;

"Omne ſacrum rapiente dextra." HOR.

But where is now that ancient Rome? the theatre of all grandeur; the town of all nations! She beheld Europe, Africa, and Aſia enchained to the car of her triumph: ſhe carried on the wings of her victorious eagles her thunder ſo far, that the nation paſſed as unknown upon the globe, which had not been vanquiſhed or ſurmounted by the Romans. This Rome had riſen upon the *ruins* of an hundred realms—but by *its ruin* an hundred realms enriched themſelves with ſpoils. And at preſent what remains of it?

The picture of fallen ſtates offers an inſtructive leſſon to nations, at this moment. But there is ſomething peculiarly ſtriking and worthy of obſervation in the fall of Athens.

"In Athens," ſays Plutarch, "there were men not to be ſurpaſſed in the world: but its bad citizens were not to be equalled in impiety, perfidiouſneſs, and cruelty, by any age or country." Plutarch was an hiſtorian, not a prophet: he ſpoke of things that had been, not of men that would be.

Athens was renowned for the poliſh of its manners and the ſplendour of its military character. The important battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, had given new luſtre to its glory, and new power to its conſequence. Its citizens, therefore, aſpired to a ſuperiority above the other ſtates of Greece. Proud in their power, and haughty in their ſucceſs, they grew arrogant in their demands, and claimed ſupremacy. They hurled the brand of diſcord and war amongſt nations, to light themſelves to aggrandizement upon the

the ruins of their fall. For, notwithſtanding their confuſed democracy within, the ſucceſs of their arms without had forced the other ſtates of Greece into ſubjection. It had awed them into a confederacy. *Theſe conquerors went on to the borders of Egypt*, having at that moment, according to Ariſtophanes, a thouſand cities under their dominion. But their arrogance abroad, and intemperance at home, ſealed the inſtrument of their fate. The abuſed ſtates united.

The deſtruction of that people was reſolved on, which claimed paramount power over the reſt. A *ſingle* pique was widened into univerſal war, and the arms of all nations were turned againſt Athens. After twenty-eight years of bloodſhed, it fell into ruin. Thirty tyrants ſtarted up to oppreſs her within, and ſhe groaned under the weight of her own calamities. Theſe monſters, with power in their hands, exhibited but deeds of blood, and deſigns of horror. All thoſe who had poſſeſſed themſelves of eſtates were put to death without form of juſtice. And, without pique or grudge, thoſe were ſacrified for their riches, who had ſacrificed others for the ſame. Their tranſports of cruelty and covetouſneſs were ſo boundleſs, that they turned even upon themſelves, and ſpared not Theramenes, one of their own number. Again, however, Athens raiſed its dying head for a moment under Philip: but it fell under the final hand of the Romans. May this picture not prove a prophecy!

Humanity muſt renounce all ſentiments of ſound policy, were it to admit the "*Delenda eſt Carthago.*" It was the death-warrant of Rome. But as the government of France is an empoiſoned ſource, as her ſyſtem, phyſical and moral, is death to her own and other ſtates, ſomething ſalutary muſt be done. The ſubjects of the univerſe expect, and have a right to expect it from their governors. There is but one voice and one arm at this moment throughout Aſia, Africa, America,

America, and Europe, to repel this robber of univerſal peace. Will not governors then avail themſelves of this honeſt and indignant zeal of their ſubjects? Will they not give them that ſecurity which is their due, and uſe that power which they offer? Will the ſtates of Europe, in particular, which groan under plunder and oppreſſion, be abandoned by the chiefs of other nations with a brutal ſtupidity to their pending fate? Impoſſible! The eyes of men, we truſt, are at length opened to the unprincipled and deſolating ſyſtem of France. Her ſting is power: ſhe is mad after power. She muſt be confined far within her own walls of braſs, which reach from ocean to ocean, and the chains of fortification be uſed againſt herſelf. If the conſtituted authorities of Europe be honeſt to their ſubjects, or wiſe to themſelves, ſuch is their power at this moment, that they have but to ſay,—Let it be done,—and it will be done. Phyſical force, and moral power, is the neareſt approach for man to Omnipotence.

And, in imitation of divine beneficence, this doctrine goes to ſave and not to deſtroy ſtates. When Lyſander oppoſed Agis from utterly ruining Athens, he urged that one of the eyes of Greece ſhould not be plucked out. But by this counſel he did more than ſave Athens; he ſaved Sparta. Nay, what is infinitely leſs than the deſtruction of a ſtate, the fall of a ſingle man, which is often the wiſh of hoſtility againſt a nation, may bring ruin upon the rivals of his nation. The wiſdom and courage of Epaminondas had animated and directed the Theban power to ſtop the headlong ambition of Athens. But the death of Epaminondas proved no leſs fatal to theſe Athenians than to the Thebans. When there was none whoſe virtues they could emulate, or whoſe power they could fear, they lorded it without a rival, and laughed in luxury: they glutted in idleneſs, and beſotted themſelves

with debauch, until Rome cut the thread, and closed the scene. Thus England has been at once the scourge and salvation of France. Without the alarm of her power, and the awe of her virtues, France had been drowned in security, or torn and destroyed by intestine commotions. She sees not far, when with the voice of immoral rage and infantine bombast, she menaces extermination. As sure as the laws of Nature, the restitution would be equal, and contrary. So true is it, that sound policy is sound justice.

By this maxim then, which is eternal, let the legislators of France square their policy. They must be aware, that though there be passions which lead to grand effects, yet they are grand like the influence of comets*. Those passions are not to be fomented, which render people formidable without and not virtuous within. They give a glaring and passing prosperity; but to their moments of intoxication succeeds an eternal lethargy. These are the passions which blind the spirit, but do not animate the soul: they were the passions of the Saracens, and the followers of Odin. There are passions, too, which lead to riches, conquests, and hardy enterprises, but not to civil virtue; which is true human felicity: such was the passion of cupidity which led the Celts from the North, and conducted the Spaniards into the New World. There are passions, which arm people against people, produce prodigies of intrepidity, create warriors and martyrs, but not citizens. Such are the passions generated by the rivalry of nations. But the wisdom of the laws is to combine with the form of government against the destructive influence of the passions. And, while they harmonize with their key, they will, by imperceptible modifications, vary and direct them, until their principle of activity becomes as salutary in force and tendency

* See *Filangieri* on Legislation, Neapolitan edition, 1784, vol. vii. c. 41, &c.

as it was deſtructive. I ſhall exemplify this. The love of power is the ſpring of activity in all governments. It exiſts, with a baneful tendency to itſelf and other ſtates, in France. But this love of power may be ſo directed as to awaken the love of country. For they are both a modification of the love of ourſelves. And this love of ourſelves can be no where more ſtrongly addreſſed than through the wiſdom of the laws; which, combining with the form of government, will ſo exactly determine the powers and exerciſe of authority, that no individual will have loſt of his natural condition, but each will have before him exaltation in the ſocial condition. The wiſdom of ſuch laws and government therefore will produce, expand, and fortify the love of country. And the love of power will conſtantly invigorate and maintain this love of country. But the imperfection of the laws and government will as uniformly weaken, counteract, and deſtroy it. The hiſtory of Egypt, Perſia, Greece, and Rome; the annals of Britain, and all nations renowned for their virtues, or for that happineſs which flows from them, is an inconteſtable proof of thoſe truths.

Such unerring evidence of facts ſhould teach the numerous hoſts of ſelf-called philoſophers in France, that ſound policy is ſound morality, right reaſon, and true philoſophy. They ſhould, therefore, in conformity with theſe auguſt monitors, impreſs upon their nation, that without univerſal juſtice all public power is ſapleſs, and no authority can be of long duration. The greateſt power * ſhould, in truth, be the greateſt bridle, and the firſt law of authority be duty. But authority * beyond law, or power without bounds, awakens a melancholy and awful reflection. Surely France at leaſt ought to tremble at the doctrine which ſhe has broached, of

* Senec. Eurip. Plin. Pan. Tacit.

"*Libet ſi licet.*" Will it be eternally true, that the ſlave ſtript of his chains pants to rivet them on another?

Thank God! the moral ſyſtem of Britain admits not this baneful principle, of "*Libet ſi licet,*" in public, or even in private. The throne ſtands above the cottage to protect it; but its baſis is too ſound to fall upon or cruſh it. It looks down benignantly upon it, like a tutelary guardian from above. Yes, my Lord, Britain knows not, and never may ſhe know, this deadly harbinger of revolution, except as a frightful admonition from our *oppoſite neighbours.*

I have the honour to be, with profound reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's obedient and obliged Servant,

THOMAS B. CLARKE.

THE END.

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